20c APRIL 9, 1951

New Republic

GOVERNOR DEWEY HIDES OUT

By HAROLD L. ICKES

MILLION $ SENATORS

By JEAN BEGEMAN

REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR

By R. H. S. CROSSMAN

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Spotlight on
MOBILIZATION

A special section in the April 16 issue

The intense dissatisfaction of organized labor with the direction and policies of the mobilization effort has focussed public attention on an important aspect of Washington's failure to provide the men and measures the nation needs.

There are other, but less well-publicized, aspects of this failure which profoundly affect the soundness of our economy and the long-range security of the country.

The *New Republic*, in a special section to appear April 16, will put under the spotlight the men who are directing mobilization, the contracts they are awarding, and the impact of their policies. *Spotlight on* MOBILIZATION will contain:

1. THE BACKDROP

A review of the problem of big business concentration in World War II, when Charles E. Wilson was the top production authority for the years 1942-1944. It will show how concentration was increased by his reconversion policies and war-plants-disposal program and will expose how far this concentration had advanced by 1950.

2. WHO'S WHO IN DEFENSE IN WASHINGTON.

The cast of characters in the mobilization set-up, with their business connections and a diagram of their relations to each other.

3. MOBILIZATION IN ACTION

A. *Production.* Who is getting the contracts? How the awarding of prime contracts is furthering still greater concentration. Who is getting the bonanzas? How accelerated amortization is being misused. Where is the production program failing? The story of steel, aluminum and power.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

NEXT SUMMER when Congressmen are complaining about the heat, they will deserve slight sympathy. They are doing little work and at the present pace a summer vacation or even a recess seems impossible. The current session is likely to last through summer, fall and right up to Christmas. Under the great dome of dawdle the Senate dragged on the troops - for - Europe issue for three months, while over in the White House, where the Administration implored fast action on the anti-inflation tax bill, the prospect is that no tax bill will emerge till June. Washington's jungle summers are dreadful indeed, but we have never believed that Congressmen dislike them as much as they say. After all to avoid them all they have to do is their work, which at present they are not doing. A lot of Congressmen come from towns where summer is even worse than Washington. The Capital is aircooled. Besides that for many Congressmen it is more comfortable to dig in here than face constituents at home who ask, "Why don't you pass such and such a bill?" In Washington the citizens can't even vote. Yes, it looks like a long session.

The showdown is coming soon on the peace treaty with Japan. On the whole, the draft Dulles has drawn is liberal, although our alleged generosity is a little exaggerated. Japan is the one big industrial nation in Asia, and Moscow would like to have it second only to Germany; occupation has cost us a couple billion dollars, and we want to get a nation of 80 million people off our necks; and, finally, our "generosity" must be measured against the fact that the proposed treaty gives us rights to almost all the air and naval bases in sight. On the other hand, the treaty could be a lot worse, and some of our allies would like to press down harder on Japan than we would. The question is whether Japan can support herself once she is cut adrift, particularly with her former Chinese and Manchurian markets gone. The Korean War has been an economic boon for Japan, which is selling to the UN troops all the spare goods Tokyo has. But after that, then what?

David Lilienthal has just returned from Japan with a fascinating suggestion. He reports that Japan has a superabundance of undeveloped water power. Why not let Japan "export" this waterpower? How? By shipping in bauxite and similar ores to her, letting Japan use her electricity to reduce these ores to aluminum and exporting the ingots to the US. There is a crucial need in America both for electricity and aluminum. Lilienthal argues that this two-way trade would give Japan the economic boost that might prevent collapse, would integrate her economy with ours on a non-competitive basis and would tie her solidly into the democratic camp. As we listened to Lilienthal we found ourselves sighing. Maybe his Japanese proposal is only a dream; but how refreshing to have somebody thinking up big ideas again! Quite like old times it was—those happy, bygone days when top Administration leaders were not all generals or big business Republicans.

Maybe our great trouble is that we can't help liking people. In rapid succession last week we went to press conferences of big, bluff, breezy Charlie Wilson, the ex-General Electric president bull-in-a-china-shop man who is running the mobilization show, and of General Marshall, the reserved, George Washington-Virginia gentleman soldier who is over in the Pentagon running the military side of things. Wilson can't seem to understand why labor opposes him; Marshall can't understand the ups and downs of a yo-yo Congress on the subject of defense, first demanding UMT, then cooling toward it. Both these men have given orders all their lives; both have, up until now, always

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assumed instant obedience, one in the industrial, the other in the military field. Now they are in a world they never made. They are patriotic men; they are doing the best they know how in a time of crisis. As remarked above, we like them. Charlie Wilson was mad at the reporters and cameramen in about two minutes, but in a boyish, tumultuous, frank-and-hearty fashion that was attractive even while it made your heart pound. In our view he is terribly miscast in his present job. He is a top production man, but he has been put into a role requiring tact, delicacy and finesse when he is about as diplomatic as a pile-driver. Marshall, too, is a memorable figure in his quiet, contained power. He has set his life's goal on getting UMT to replace the ups and downs of America's past erratic defense system, and now he sees it likely to be snatched away by the cooling of popular interest following success in Korea. Marshall is frostily reserved; it was a great scene when this impressive man finally rose from behind his desk and, like a chunk of granite showing a kind of geological flame, delivered an indictment of the vacillations of democracy to the awed reporters. His voice did not rise but there was passion in his comment. Two month ago they denounced him for not asking more, he said; now they denounced him for asking too much.

In a touch of drama unusual for Marshall he waved aside the cautionary remonstrance of his press officer and said, yes, we could quote him direct on his declaration that the peril to the nation is now greater than it was last November, at the time of the retreat in Korea. This "peril," our investigations indicate, refers to no specific new military attack but to the still uncompleted defense mobilization. If Stalin were going to strike, top leaders feel, this would be the time to do it.

Notes: President Auriol's defense of France just before the Senate's troops-for-Europe vote was dramatic. . . . Vacation did Truman good. He was calm and collected at his first press conference thereafter; unfortunately it did not persuade him to fire Ambassador O'Dwyer.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

More Pro and Con on the NS&N

SIR: . . . Kingsley Martin cannot regard American foreign policy with a friendly eye. He knows that the danger to peace and democratic socialism do not arise completely from Soviet policies. . . . What disturbs him and our other Left-Wing critics abroad is the constant support America gives to anyone who shouts that he hates Communism. . . .

Beneath much of their hostility lies the conviction that America is a society where the main motive in life is a desire for money and power. They feel that America can never have the vision to recognize any other economic way of life because capitalism and democracy seem to be fused in the minds of the people and their leaders. They think that socialism has many more virtues than capitalism and is far more compatible with the economic needs of the world. There has grown up in Asia and Europe a large body of opinion sympathetic to an alternative to Russian Communism and American free enterprise. In many ways the *New Statesman and Nation* represents the thinking of large numbers of people who want to bring a third force into being before the drift toward war becomes inevitable.

Mr. Strout's comparison reflects the crisis in American liberalism. The American liberals have taken their place alongside the elements that are bent upon war.

New York City GABRIEL GERSH

SIR: Your lead editorial, "British and American Liberals," has done a great service in pointing out the differences between the two groups. As a subscriber to the *NS&N* I have not been able concretely to state my opinion of this publication. You have done it for me. A case of Pope's "What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed. . . ."

Tufts College, Mass. ARNOLD ZACK

SIR: I wish to express my agreement with your excellent editorial in the issue of March 19.

Mr. Kingsley Martin writes that, since "the center of capitalist power has moved from London to Washington," so "socialists' criticism must also move from London to Washington." If the experience of Eastern Europe cannot persuade Mr. Martin that the main enemy of democratic socialism is not the Fair Deal but totalitarian Communism, then his concern for democracy and freedom must, in truth, be feeble. Fortunately most European socialists have not strayed so far from the democratic and libertarian traditions of socialism.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

Cambridge, Mass.

The Future of the ADA

SIR: Apparently, there is a concerted effort afoot, by particular elements in the ADA, to salvage from a very boring, disquieting Cleveland convention the amorphous theme of unity. When the convention reports of Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in the New York *Post* and the *NR* account are compared, in which there is a total lack of moving vitality, the only hopeful note appears to be that all the delegates agreed to agree.

But this state of being is antithetical to the very nature of the ADA. This organization of independent liberals, interested in politics on both the idea and action level, had been in the past the market place for exchange of viewpoints that was the strength not the weakness of the group. Now, with its essence removed or dissipated, the credo of the status quo has been resurrected, unity.

Nevertheless, it is of the utmost importance to question the reasons for the lack of dissent and the basis of agreement as formulated by the convention. . . . The ADA has lost temporarily the allegiance of many of its lower-echelon leadership people. Due to the lack of programmatic perspective and undue emphasis on participation and interest in low-down political-power maneuverings, there have been numerous curtailments in participation and defections of these people who are of utmost importance if the ADA is to be more than a meteoric flight across the political horizon. And it is these people, the dissenters, whom the ADA sadly missed at Cleveland. For though they may have broken the façade of "unity," they would have provided the stimulus of thought and emotion. . . .

Aside from the personnel issue which should not be lost by minimization, the ADA agreed in "unity" that it would be "folly to be guided by the expectation that we can lure Peking away from Moscow"; "favored withholding recognition of Red China and admission to the UN as long as Peking defies the principles of the UN." The impression is clear that the ADA proposes to bludgeon China into an acceptance of our [US] point of view. No policy could be more fallacious. It is one step away from the "all-out attack" school of the Knowland-McCarthy crowd.

Robert Payne, writing in the New York *Times* about two months ago, endeavored

(Continued on page 23)

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New Republic

LATIN AMERICA AND THE COLD WAR

THE SHADOW of the Cold War lies across the Conference of American States now meeting in Washington. The conference was inspired by the United States for the purpose of developing more hemispheric unity in the worldwide fight against Communism and particularly the Korean War. What developed during the first few days of the conference revealed, on the contrary, how far we are from anything like close cohesion on this matter.

The greatest efforts were made, as usual, to avoid undiplomatic blunt speaking; but these efforts did not prevent plenty of harsh criticisms of the United States and its policies; and actions always speak louder than words. All the Latin American republics are members of the United Nations and have approved the course of that body in resisting aggression in Korea. All of them have repeatedly, over a period of decades, given verbal support to the doctrine of collective security. Yet at this writing, not one soldier from any Latin American country is fighting on Korean soil, and as far as is known, only one battalion of troops, from only one country—Colombia—is prepared for combat. The real attitude of several Latin American nations was expressed by the Argentine spokesman, who said flatly that no troops from that country would fight overseas, or in fact anywhere outside Argentina's own borders.

The unpleasant fact is that the same neutralism which in the recent past has plagued Europe is epidemic in Latin America. This is true even though the Catholic Church is powerful in most of the 20 republics, and is as a matter of worldwide policy vigorously anti-Russian and anti-Communist. For the South American attitude there are several reasons. In part, they exhibit the same isolationism that is painfully apparent in certain parts of the United States. Some of them feel that the main struggle is between this country and Soviet Russia and that they are justified in staying out of it to the greatest possible extent. Generations of suspicion and hostility toward the US, going back to our interference in Nicaragua and other countries, continue to bear fruit. Some of the Latin republics are frankly afraid of the Peron dictatorship and reluctant to oppose it; during the whole first week of the conference there was no public mention of the matter which was profoundly exercising the delegates in their private conversations: the cold-blooded murder of Argentina's great liberal newspaper, *La Prensa.*

Latin America and the United States have divergent, if not definitely conflicting, policies as to what should be done now in the light of the world crisis. The United States wants the Latin countries to take steps against threats to their internal security through Communist espionage and sabotage. We also want these countries to convert rate on producing for us, on the largest possible scale, raw materials for war purposes.

Latin America is far from acceding to the second part of this program. It provided raw materials for us during the Second World War, only to have us suddenly and completely cut off our purchases at the end of the conflict, with tremendous resulting hardships. What these countries want is more of a Marshall Plan for themselves, which will help raise their standard of living (their per-capita income is only one-tenth that of the US). They are also worried about inflation, which may decrease the value of the dollars they earn in helping us to rearm, and would like some sort of guarantee against it.

While many Latin American countries are anti-totalitarian, at least in theory, dictatorship has existed in the recent past or still exists in a number of them, and they do not echo our stern expressions of morality on the subject. They note, moreover, that the longer the Cold War goes on, the more it tends to lose its ideological character and to become just a conflict of groups of countries, as the United States makes friends for military purposes with a Communist dictator like Tito and a Fascist one like Franco.

Fear and distrust of the United States, south of the border, extend even to our tentative gestures in the way of economic aid of roughly the Marshall-Plan type. The United States has offered, for example, to put up 70 percent of a preliminary sum to get a co-operative program going, for analysis of the chief economic problems, and a beginning at remedying them. Thus far, the Latin American countries have shown no enthusiasm about putting up the other 30 percent. They cannot disabuse themselves of the fear that "North American capitalism" is again coming into their countries, as it has so often

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done in the past, to exploit their natural resources and to work their native populations under semi-slave conditions.

All this is no reason for pessimism regarding the ultimate outcome in Latin America. The coolness with which these republics have viewed the Korean War is no more serious than the similar attitude in Europe, which is now beginning to change under the influence of Eisenhower and the NATO. Already, progress has been made in the Latin republics. In 1947 at Rio, we managed to get a hemispheric mutual-defense pact; in 1948 at Bogota, the republics set their faces against Communism and built an organization for consultation on collective security. Latin America as a whole is moving toward reliance upon international action to keep the peace, even though at a somewhat slower pace than the United States.

As usual, we have done a poor job of selling our ideas to our Latin neighbors. We have failed to convince them of our sincerity of the fact that we have had a genuine change of heart since the bad old days when "Yankee imperialism" was a reality. We have also done far less than we could and should to help Latin America solve her pressing economic problems; it was short-sighted, from our own point of view, to cut off our Latin American purchases so abruptly and callously in 1945. But it is not yet too late. If we will help Latin America in the ways and to the extent that she believes to be just, she will still take her place in the ranks of the nations fighting the Communist threat around the world.

THE WEEK

NEW PHASE IN KOREA

All hope has now vanished of an immediate end to the fighting in Korea. MacArthur's peace offer, if it can be called that, has been decisively rejected by the Chinese Communists. There is no reason to believe that any similar offer from any other source would not meet the same fate.

MacArthur's statement once again showed him at his worst. He interfered in political matters which are beyond the scope of his authority and ran counter to the express position of the United States Government, to say nothing of the United Nations whose servant he is supposed to be. The 14 UN countries with troops now fighting on Korean soil were in the middle of preparing a peace proposal of their own, which was wrecked by MacArthur's action. Since he must have known what was on foot, his statement looks like a piece of deliberate insubordination. It looked that way to both our State Department and the Pentagon; the Chiefs of Staffs have now ordered him to clear with them in advance all future statements of a political character. It is doubtful whether this colossal egoist will obey these orders, any more than he has obeyed similar ones in the past, however.

On one point, at least, the air has been cleared somewhat. With the UN forces again standing on the 38th Parallel, MacArthur shows no inclination to repeat his catastrophic mistake of last November and rush forward to the banks of the Yalu. The Parallel itself will be disregarded, since it is not in any sense a natural military defense line; but apparently our troops will not advance very far beyond it until political decisions have been made at a higher level than Tokyo. We may now have a chance to test the British theory that the Chinese Communists are looking for a way to get out of the war if they can do so without a too devastating loss of face.

POINT FOUR AND STRATEGY

The Rockefeller report, an ambitious blue-print to develop Point Four from perishable childhood to healthy $500 million adolescence, has been met by a pronounced lack of fervor. The enthusiasm with which the birth of Point Four was greeted two years ago has waned greatly in the course of the Cold War.

The scope and the idealism of the original concept of American aid for world development have been greatly curtailed. Conceived as an experiment in the highest realm of statesmanship, Point Four has become increasingly involved with narrower concepts of political and economic strategy. The Rockefeller report, written during the period of the Korean jitters, goes far, if not all the way, toward proposing that the program be held in line with military necessities.

"The task ahead of us requires a sharp break with past thinking habits," declares the report, proposing that the new agency it would set up to unify all US international aid programs "think in terms of physical resources, like strategic materials and scarce equipment." Essentially the International Development Advisory Board, which was appointed to watch over the Point-Four program, is proposing that it be merged with efforts like ECA and in the process take on the frankly political aspects of the Marshall Plan.

The report emphasizes that "strategic projects" might range from taking raw materials from a specific mine to the social enlightenment of the population of continents. There are phrases in the report, however, such as that urging "priority to those co-operating with other free peoples in mutual defense against aggression" which are alarming as possible sanction for open discrimination against countries like India and Indonesia, which are holding themselves aloof from definite association with the Western camp.

Those who argue for the Rockefeller

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approach, which is more a product of the times than of the men who wrote it, say that it constitutes the only way in which Point Four can survive the present hazily defined "emergency." Congressional approval might presumably come more willingly if the argument for the program is framed in terms directly relating to American security. Also, since American thinking is likely to be dominated by Cold War strategy for some time, there may be merit in frankly writing its axioms into the legislation rather than introducing them through the back door.

ANTI-RED LAW TEST

Maryland's Ober law, one of the most stringent anti-Communist measures passed by any state, will be reviewed by the Supreme Court. The Court, which has twice declined to review the law, agreed last week to hear argument on its constitutionality. The law requires persons running for state and city offices to sign loyalty oaths, and makes it a crime to belong to any group designated by the State Attorney General as subversive.

The high court last year refused to rule on a test case involving a Progressive Party candidate for Governor on the grounds that it was "moot" since the November election had already been held. The Maryland Court of Appeals has ruled that the law does not apply to candidates for federal offices. The Supreme Court's decision will be especially important since Mississippi recently passed a similar law and several other state legislatures, including Pennsylvania and Illinois, are now considering such legislation. The three bills, introduced into the General Assembly of Pennsylvania with American Legion backing, would require oaths by state employees, including teachers, and would impose a death penalty for intentionally delaying or interfering with defense preparations.

In denouncing such legislation, former US Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts said recently that the Pennsylvania bills "would fail of their purpose and endanger and destroy some of our most precious and fundamental rights and liberties."

LILY WHITE COUNCIL

RICHMOND, VA. (NR Corresp.)

When Oliver W. Hill was elected to Richmond's unicameral City Council in 1948, he became the first Negro to hold elective office in Virginia since the days of the carpet-baggers. Running as an independent, Hill was elected by two groups of voters—Negroes who ignored a choice of nine candidates and "single-shot" for him, and white voters who felt it only fair that Richmond's 40,000 Negroes be represented in the city government. Hill's election was hailed in Virginia and throughout the nation as a sign of progress in Southern race relations.

Hill proved to be such an able Councilman that in a poll of Richmond reporters taken toward the end of the Council's two-year term, he was voted the second most valuable member of the nine-man body. In 1950 Hill ran for re-election on a joint slate with several white fellow councilmen. He lost by only 44 votes and returned to private law practice.

Last month, Councilman J. Randolph Ruffin resigned to take a job outside of Richmond. The all-white Council was faced with the task of choosing his successor before the end of March.

As one of Richmond's most influential Negro leaders, Hill seemed the logical choice for the vacancy. But his name stirred opposition in the white community and in the Council. A partner in the firm of Hill, Martin and Robinson, he had been active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People suits compelling the counties of Virginia to improve their Negro schools. His firm defended the seven Martinsville men who were recently electrocuted for rape. Hill has been increasingly outspoken against segregation and recently issued a statement declaring that he would not compromise his principles simply to re-enter the Council.

For weeks the Council dawdled over the choice of Ruffin's successor. More than 20 candidates were considered including a prominent Negro businessman and a Negro educator, both of whom declined in favor of Hill. By petition and delegation, Negroes urged the City Council to choose Hill as the successor.

On March 17, the Council announced its unanimous choice: John S. Davenport III, a member of the first Council who, declining to run for re-election in 1950, had gone back to law practice and now allowed himself to be persuaded to return to public service. The Council's by-passing of Hill has so angered the Negro community that there is likely to be a marked increase in the number of Negroes who will pay poll-taxes, register and vote in the next election. Unfortunately, much of the political co-operation between Negro and white citizens, that Hill's first and second campaign accomplished, has been damaged.

MRS. KNAUFF EXCLUDED

The exclusion from the US of Mrs. Ellen Knauff, wife of a former American soldier, has been upheld by a special immigration board. Mrs. Knauff came to New York in 1948 and was held two years on Ellis Island while the government attempted to prove that she was an espionage agent for the Czechoslovak mission at the same time she was working for the American Military Government in Frankfurt, Germany.

The government withheld evidence of the charges made against her during the past two years and only recently called three witnesses who testified that she had engaged in espionage activities. The most convincing testimony was given by Major Vaclav Kadane, former chief of the Czech military liaison mission, who said he had been informed of Mrs. Knauff's activities on behalf of his government, which included the passing of information on a new American decoding machine. Mrs. Knauff vigorously denies that she has ever spied for any country.

The case is certainly not an airtight one, and Mrs. Knauff intends to appeal it to the Commissioner of Immigration. While the burden of proof remains on her, the Department of Justice, which refused to disclose the charges against her for nearly three years on the ground that it would impair security (a point upheld by the Supreme Court), shows a lack of fair play not in accord with democratic principles.

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WHERE THE LAW STOPS SHORT

When confronted with an evil, we Americans are prone to say, "there ought to be a law." But the law does not and cannot apply effectively over wide fields of men's activities. It cannot reach those evils which are subtle and impalpable. Generally speaking, it reaches only the overt and the blatant acts of the wicked.

Much of the evil of the world is beyond the reach of the law. The law cannot prevent gossip. It cannot prevent men from bearing false witness against their neighbors. It cannot restrain men from avarice and gluttony. It cannot restrain a man from betraying his friend. . . .

The law being inadequate, men long ago supplemented the law courts with courts of equity, where the spirit of the law, rather than its letter, is paramount. Underlying the law are the codes of ethics promulgated by the great religions and recognized by all civilized men as being essential to a humane and enlightened existence.

. . . What should be done about men who do not directly and blatantly sell the favors of their offices for money and so place themselves within the penalties of the law? How do we deal with those who, under the guise of friendship, accept favors which offend the spirit of the law, but do not violate its letter?

What of the men outside government who suborn those inside it? They are careful to see that they do not do anything that can be construed as illegal. They operate through . . . clever lawyers; a cleverness which is like the instinct of the rat that knows how to get the bait without getting caught. Many businessmen, ostensibly reputable businessmen, employ these knavish lawyers to circumvent the law and enrich themselves at government expense. Too often the law cannot touch them.

Who is more at fault, the bribed or the bribers? The bribed have been false to their oaths and a betrayer of their trust. But they are often relatively simple men—men of small fortune or no fortune at all—and they weaken before the temptations held out to them by the unscrupulous.

Who are the bribers? They are often men who walk the earth lordly and secure; members of good families; respected figures in their communities; graduates of universities. They are, in short, the privileged minority. . . .

Is it too much to ask of them that they do not use a government lending agency as dumping ground for their own mistakes in judgment? Is it too much to ask them, the favored few of our country, that they behave with simple honesty . . . which looks, not to the letter of the law, but to its spirit?

. . . The government and its activities are, in a very real sense, a mirror of our national life. . . .

This question of the moral strength of our people is not just an internal domestic matter. It has grave possibilities in our international relations. Without confidence in their government, the people will not make the sacrifices necessary to oppose Russia successfully. Toynbee, in his well-known historical study, demonstrated clearly how the vast majority of great civilizations have been destroyed, not as a result of external aggression, but as a consequence of domestic corruption. A democracy can recover quickly from physical or economic disaster, but when its moral convictions weaken, it becomes easy prey for the demagogue and the charlatan. Tyranny and oppression then become the order of the day.

In recent years, I wonder if we have not unwittingly come to accept the totalitarian concept that the end justifies the means, a concept which is fundamentally and completely antagonistic to a true democratic society. Democracy is, I believe, more likely to be destroyed by the perversion of, or abandonment of, its true moral principles than by armed attack from Russia. . . .

One of the most disturbing aspects of this problem of ethical conduct is the revelation that among so many influential people, morality has become identical with legality. We are certainly in a tragic plight if the acceptable standard by which we measure the integrity of a man in public life is that he keep within the letter of the law.

. . . The growing size and complexity of our government, as much as we may deplore it, only emphasizes the need for a clarification, a restatement of the moral standards of governmental conduct.

Scandals in our government are not a new phenomenon in our history. What seems to be new about these scandals is the moral blindness or callousness which allows those in responsible positions to accept the practices which the facts reveal. It is bad enough for us to have corruption in our midst, but it is worse if it is to be condoned as inevitable.

Some weeks ago, I suggested, informally, that it would be beneficial to have a commission of eminent citizens designated by the Congress to consider the problem of ethical standards of conduct in public affairs.

. . . Such a commission, as I conceive it, . . . would evaluate the conditions which have been exposed and drawing upon its combined wisdom would restate again, or formulate anew, principles which, it is to be hoped, would strengthen the faith of all decent men in our democratic society.

. . . It is not a job for politicians; it is not a job for the inexperienced; it is a job for the wisest of our citizens under a mandate from the nation. . . .

From a speech delivered in the Senate on March 27, 1951, by Sen. J. W. Fulbright.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

DE GAULLE COMES BACK

The Count of Paris, who would be king of France if an Orleanist monarchy was restored, gives at least lip service to democracy. And he has joined the growing number of Frenchmen who are worried about the baleful effect the present tactics of the Fourth Republic's manipulators are likely to have on French democracy. The first head of the House of Orleans to live on French soil in three quarters of a century believes either direct or indirect outlawing of the Communist Party would be foolish and useless because suppression of the organization would not wipe out its function.

There is, in fact, practically no chance at all of any development in France even faintly resembling the organization of revolution from the Left. But the growing resentment of the working people, the small civil servants and the lower middle class against the failure of one government after another to act seriously and effectively against the steadily rising cost of living plays directly into the hands of the industrialists, bankers and landowners who want Gen. Charles de Gaulle to come to power.

The sterile duel, ostensibly on the issue of "election-law tricks," which caused the downfall of René Pleven, the strongest political figure to emerge in French parliamentary life since the end of the war, at precisely the time when he seemed to be winning American confidence in French dependability, was in fact merely the surface of a more serious duel between the MRP, the Popular Republican Movement, and the Radical Socialist Party. There have been the usual number of twists and turns in French parliamentary affairs since President Truman's favorite Frenchman first bowed out of the picture. There has been, moreover, the illusion of resolution of the most pressing problems. But the basic problem remains.

The MRP is a Catholic Centrist Party, farther to the Left than the Italian Christian Democratic Party and more closely linked to a relatively Leftist version of the Vatican's policy of economic and social justice. Its foundations were laid during the war when progressive Catholics not only fought side by side with Communists in the Resistance—and as bravely—but also declared themselves vigorously in favor of profound reforms in the social structure of the Third Republic. It came to power by the same means that gave the Communists some 30 percent of the seats in the National Assembly—by the electoral system of proportional representation.

Changes in the election laws that penalize the Communists have the effect of crippling the MRP. There is no doubt that the leaders of the MRP were playing the old game of selfish partisan politics when, to save themselves, they stood for an electoral system that would not accomplish the "trick" of ousting more of the Communists from the Assembly. But there is also no doubt that they were fighting the replacement of the hopes of the Fourth Republic by the old-guardism of the Third; that they wanted to put the struggle against Communism on the only front on which most of the people, and not the minorities behind de Gaulle, would profit.

In the Assembly, on the day of Pleven's resignation, there were among the 620 members: 167 Communists (with 14 fellow-travelers), 145 representatives of the MRP, 99 Socialists and only 43 Radical Socialists. A number of the Radical Socialists were, moreover, much closer to the 22 representatives of the RPF, de Gaulle's Rally of the French People, than to the leaders of their own party. There were even in some cases double memberships, and it was in protest against such a case that the veteran Edouard Herriot resigned as chairman of the Radical Party.

Both Radical and Radical Socialist are grotesque misnomers. The party is in fact the old guard of the Third Republic, the obstructors and wreckers of any kind of sensible modern social reform, the enemies not only of Communism and of Socialism (in so far as it remains Left) but also of the Holy See's social justice of the Dominican or *Rerum Novarum* varieties.

The replacement of proportional representation means two things: pushing the Communists underground and by a return to a system of election, analogous to the one used before the war, greatly increasing the strength of the Radical Socialists in the Assembly. But no matter what coalition of parliamentary forces may emerge, it must inevitably serve as a care-taker for General de Gaulle. He has, of course, no sensible economic program, but his gospel of "strength and order" still has a popular appeal.

What Pleven accomplished in the last few months in office was to begin a really effective struggle against neutralism. It was clear, however, that the real mobilization of the French people—the psychological and moral mobilization—in support of defensive rearmament would depend on continuing that "moral campaign" in the economic and social field. The inflation which has inevitably followed the launching of the rearmament program finds the French workers and the Frenchmen who live on small, fixed incomes already on a low standard of living. While tricks are played, politically, on the Communist Party, the propagandists of that Party are able to play far more effective tricks, psychologically, on national morale.

As the pretender to the throne of France says, the result can be only revolutionary or dictatorial. But, in fact, the result is likely to be a combination of counter-revolution with "parliamentary" dictatorship. Not at a single stroke, of course: the Gaullist care-taker coalitions may be careful. Even the General himself is expected to be circumspect when he first comes to power. It is the second de Gaulle Government that needs to be anticipated with foreboding. For a French democracy in the manner of a de Gaulle wearing the mantle of Napoleon III will be a worse contribution to the world struggle against Communism than a Spanish democracy in the manner of Franco.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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REFLECTIONS ON THE COLD WAR

by R. H. S. Crossman

WHAT EXACTLY do we mean by the Cold War? To ask the question is not merely a piece of academic pedantry. Since 1946 this concept has increasingly dominated the policies of the Western democracies and molded the lives of their inhabitants. We have gradually come to take the Cold War for granted without any precise understanding of what we mean by it or—even more important—what difference it makes to our other political preconceptions.

Superficially, the definition of Cold War seems obvious enough. It describes the fact that we are neither at war nor at peace with the Soviet Union but in a state of undeclared hostility.

A moment's reflection, however, will reveal that this is not a complete account of what we mean by Cold War. After all, ever since 1917 Communist and non-Communist states have been existing side by side, and the Kremlin has been framing its policies and the policies of the Communist Parties all over the world on the Leninist assumption of inherent conflict between capitalism and Communism. On this definition, Russia has been waging Cold War or Hot War ever since the Bolsheviks seized power, and nothing has happened inside the Soviet Union since 1945 to change the situation.

What we mean by the Cold War is something which began since the end of the war, a new phenomenon which distinguishes the decade we live in from the war years and from the 1930s. This new element can have nothing to do with the Soviet Union, since it has not modified the principles of its policy one iota. It must be something which has happened outside Russia in the Western world.

Directly we state this, we can see what was wrong with our first definition. Though only one is needed to make a hot war, it takes two to make a cold one. What is new since 1947 is the acceptance by the Western powers of the Russian challenge and their determination to reciprocate in kind. The Russians have not changed their attitude toward us; it is our attitude to them which creates the new condition of Cold War. Instead of pushing Marxism aside as irrelevant and treating Russia as though she were merely another nation state or empire, we are now inclined to accept the Russian account of the relationship between Communism and capitalism at its face value. Reacting against Russian methods of power politics, we are beginning to base our own policy on the Leninist assumption that peace is only war prosecuted by other means; that the aim of negotiation is not to reach a genuine agreement (in our democratic sense of the words "genuine" and agreement") but to achieve a tactical advantage over the enemy, or to make a tactical détente for short-term purposes. Up to 1947, the Russians waged ideological war against us while we continued to treat them as though they were not doing so. Now both sides are active; and it is this fact which we describe as the Cold War.

It is not surprising that the philosophy of Cold War has been most fully worked out by ex-Communists such as Arthur Koestler and James Burnham. Trained for many years in the Marxist school, they have no difficulty in elaborating a doctrine of anti-Marxism as coherent and as total as that of the Stalinites. Just as the Stalinites portray the capitalist enemy in bold oversimplified lines as a vast conspiracy, relentless in its constant offensive for world domination, so Mr. Burnham permits no fine distinctions in his description of Stalinite aggression. Constantly he warns us that only a picture painted in these blacks and whites can rouse the democracies; and those who prefer the sober grays, daring, for instance, to suggest that the Chinese Communists may possibly be different from the Russian Communists are written off as fellow-travelers. Mr. Burnham states bluntly that, in order to win, we must believe that the third world war has already begun and that the issue whether we should start the actual shooting or not must be treated not as a matter of morality but in terms of strict expediency. There is no basis for a settlement between democracy and Communism other than a surrender whose terms, as he outlines them, are so severe that it would in fact be unconditional.

The value of Mr. Burnham's book is that it is a logical extrapolation of a good deal of our present policy. If we reject his practical conclusions for the obvious reason that to adopt them would transform the Western world into a totalitarian state, we must at least be willing to ask ourselves whether, in accepting Cold War and waging it, we are in fact accepting a denial of democracy. Once we admit that there is a real incompatibility between the Communist and non-Communist worlds, are we not guilty of the cowardice (of which Mr. Koestler accuses us even more fiercely than Mr. Burnham) if we flinch from the practical consequences?

The Burnhamite view suffers from two defects, the

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first theoretical and the second practical. Mr. Burnham talks freely of inherent contradictions and inevitable conflicts. But if the history of the last hundred years has shown anything, it is the futility of this Hegelian logic when applied to human history. Most of Marx's prophecies have failed to come true because he tried to force facts into a system of dialectic. We can now see that, although the abstract capitalism which Marx described was inherently contradictory, the contradictions did not produce the results he expected because reality diverged further and further from the abstract system. British socialism and the American Fair Deal are now emerging out of the capitalism which Marx dogmatically described as a closed, self-contradictory system. There is no scientific validity in the phrases "inherent contradiction" and "inevitable conflict." In so far as they are not just untrue, they merely express a pessimistic conviction that human beings will always fail to find a sensible method of resolving a dangerous situation.

In the second place, the anti-Marxist theory of Cold War is impossible to apply in any Western democracy. Because the ex-Communists, in changing sides, have brought with them the materialism and determinism which are the chief heresies of Communist theory, they completely fail to understand the working of democracy. True to their instinctive totalitarianism, they think of it as something which can be engineered and manipulated from above by an elite imbued with the philosophy of Dostoievsky's Grand Inquisitor; and they are eager to organize the anti-Cominform on the same principles of democratic centralism which brought the Bolsheviks to power. At one point in his argument, Mr. Burnham observes that in the USA it is the military mind which really understands the Communist menace. Of course it is true that the soldier, who thinks in terms of war and sees diplomacy as nothing but power politics to that extent resembles a Communist. But surely it is the Communist transformation of diplomacy into warfare and of planning into a militaristic managerial society to which we, as democrats, are opposed. If President Truman permitted the American Chiefs of Staff to usurp the functions of the State Department in order to organize an anti-Cominform in Europe or to smash Communism in China, the case for European neutrality would become unanswerable. By waging the Cold War according to Mr. Burnham's strategy, America would soon transform the Atlantic Pact from an alliance of free nations into an instrument of American imperialism, and Europe would have every reason to renounce it. Moreover, any American bid for world domination, under cover of waging the Cold War, would fail much more speedily than the Communist crusade because it would not have even the dynamic of a social gospel. An anti-Communist world state, dominated by a United States which had accepted anti-Marxism as its philosophy, would be as repellent as and probably less efficient than a Communist world state.

If we reject the Burnhamite theory of Cold War, what are we left with? Is it possible to fight totalitarianism without becoming ourselves totalitarian? One approach to an answer is to study the lessons of the Second World War. Whatever the effect of unconditional surrender upon the Germans themselves, it is certain that this policy was wholly harmful to the interests of Western democracy. By exacting total defeat, Roosevelt and Churchill prolonged the war and permitted the Russians to advance deep into Europe. Even worse, they postponed any consideration of peace-making until it could only be made on Russian terms. By 1944, war had become an end in itself and not an instrument of policy, with the result that we found ourselves committed to such monstrous proposals as the Morgenthau Plan and to the totalitarian idea that one can impose democracy from above on a defeated, partitioned and occupied nation. All this suited Russia admirably. A Peoples' Democracy must always be imposed from above by a trained elite, but for us to copy the Russians involved a violation of every human instinct and every democratic principle. Instead of teaching the Germans democracy, we merely taught them that Englishmen and Americans—for a few months until the policy began to change—could behave like German *Herrenvolk* or Russian Commissars.

The lesson of Germany has a direct bearing on our conduct of the Cold War against Stalinite Russia. I accept the view that it will probably last as long as the Stalin regime, if not longer. There may be partial agreements and periodic détentes, but peace is not likely in our time. I also believe that it was essential to rid ourselves of the illusion that European socialists can ever co-operate safely with Stalinite Communists in Popular Front governments. We have all got to accept the enduring reality of the Cold War. Even if, for tactical reasons, the Russians become reasonable about Austria or Japan or any other particular problem, we shall have to remain on our guard; we shall have to remain armed; and we shall have to realize that Stalinism, the cruellest form of the managerial society, will remain a menace to world peace as long as it dominates Russia. But this does not mean either that war is inevitable or that we are justified in using any and every means to defeat Communism. Today the only inherent reason for war is the Russian belief that war is inherent; the only inevitability is the dogma of inevi-

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tability, whether promulgated by Marxists or anti-Marxists. I can see no reason why, over a long period of time, the Russian menace should not be overcome peacefully—on one condition. That condition is that by our own approximation to Russian methods we do not justify the apocalyptic belief in Armageddon.

Fortunately, this is not the case. Despite every provocation, the Western world has not adopted *vis-à-vis* Russia the policy of unconditional surrender which it imposed on Germany. On the contrary, the Cold War is, in fact, providing a new dynamic for Western democracy. Despite the confident anticipations of the chronic anti-Americans, the response to Russian aggression has not been atom bombardment but Marshall Aid in Europe and United Nations action in Korea. But so far we can say that since 1947 the Cold War, by and large, has been a creative force, forcing the Western world to put its house in order and to attend to evils which otherwise would have been left to fester. It is only thanks to Russian pressure that we are organizing collective security on a world basis, and it might well be that the main instrument for building the foundations of a world Fair Deal will not be Truman's Fourth Point but the common defense plans of the West. Those plans will have to include not merely integrated commands and a common strategy but joint boards to allocate food, raw materials and labor and to control both production and prices. During the Second World War, such boards went far toward the development of a planned economy over a large part of the world. If we can move in this direction, we could evolve a balanced economy in the non-Communist world.

This concept of Cold War strategy is consistent with the tradition of British socialism. In our own country our aim has been to subject power to a free public conscience and to civilize the conflicts of capitalism through the development of public ownership and democratic planning. At home we are on the way to completing the task of civilizing class conflict so that it ceases to be a conflict. Now we are faced with the grander and infinitely more dangerous job of civilizing a world struggle for power so that it does not end in total war. If we accept this challenge in the spirit in which the pioneers of socialism accepted the capitalist challenge a hundred years ago, I can see no reason why we should fail. We have already disproved the Marxist thesis that violence was inherent in the capitalist system and that it could only be transformed by the imposition of a ruthless dictatorship. We must now disprove the thesis of the Communists—and the ex-Communists—that violence is inherent in the Cold War and unconditional surrender its only logical climax.

If the Left is to revive and to fulfill its radical and civilizing function inside the labor movement, it must rid itself of its Russia and America complexes. British socialism is neither a mediator nor a halfway house between American capitalism and Russian Communism, and socialist righteousness will not be achieved by a disdainful attitude of equidistant neutrality. In 1950 the main enemy of freedom, and in particular of free labor movements, is the Stalinite managerial society, and the strongest potential ally which British socialism possesses is the American labor movement and the Fair Dealers in Washington.

It is true enough that reactionary forces are still immensely more powerful in the USA—and indeed in Western Europe—than they are in Britain. But to treat General MacArthur or Senator McCarthy as the main enemy, or even to think of them as a threat to peace as dangerous as Soviet policy, is to neglect everything which has happened both in the USA and in the USSR since 1930. In the USSR we have seen the elimination of the last trace of revolutionary Communism and the development of a managerial state run by a privileged and despotic elite; in the USA we have seen the steady growth of the labor movement under New Deal and Fair Deal governments, defeated only once at the polls in 20 years.

To achieve a genuine socialist policy, therefore, we must accept two hard facts: (1) that Anglo-Russian collaboration (in any sense of those words which have meaning for a British socialist) is impossible; and (2) that the best hope of world peace lies in a constructive alliance between American welfare capitalism and British welfare socialism. The Anglo-American alliance can only too easily be used for reactionary purposes which endanger world peace—for instance, to compel the French to accept the rearmament of Germany or to prop up Chiang Kai-shek. But because there are powerful popular forces in the USA which share our ideals there is no reason to believe that we cannot defeat such reactionary tendencies. The Russian alliance, on the other hand, is a mere form of words, because Stalinism is far more fundamentally opposed to our democratic socialism than it is to monopoly capitalism, with whose managerial structure it has a good deal in common. If we treat the Cold War as an unnecessary quarrel between potential allies and the Anglo-American alliance as an unnatural marriage of convenience, we can achieve nothing. Accept the Cold War as the challenge of this century and the Fair Deal as a potential ally and you have the beginnings of a socialist foreign policy which can achieve that "agreement to disagree" between East and West, which is the only alternative to war.

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FORD'S NEW VENTURE

by Bruce Bliven

THREE interesting, related news items have been in the daily press recently.

Paul G. Hoffman has resigned as head of the Economic Co-operation Administration, one of the nation's most important jobs, to become head of a private foundation.

Robert Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, has also resigned, in order to be associated with the work Hoffman will do.

Chester C. Davis, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and a long-time prominent figure in the federal government, has rearranged his activities to give much of his time to the same work.

Anything that will enlist the services of men like these is obviously of great significance. They will get good salaries, but probably less than they could make if they would go into (or return to) private business. With assured reputations in other fields, they are risking the chance of failure in a new one.

The enterprise which has called such unusual individuals to its service is, as you have already guessed, the Ford Foundation. Based on the fortune of the late Henry Ford, it is unique in several aspects. With assets of about half a billion dollars, it is a titan among private philanthropic enterprises; its annual income can hardly be less than $25 million and may be as much as $50 million or more. In addition, the trustees, who include such well-known figures as Dr. Karl Compton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, John Cowles, the newspaper and magazine publisher, and Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, now in charge of defense mobilization, may spend the principal as well as the interest if they so desire. Already, grants have been made for a number of studies, running up into many millions of dollars. The Ford Foundation, taking a leaf from the book of the armed services, shows a tendency to sign contracts with universities, which are engaged to do a specific job in a specified length of time and at a specified cost.

The purpose of the Ford Foundation, stated in the simplest terms, is to study men's minds and see whether by the application of scientific techniques human beings can learn to work together better. The announced list of intentions includes items in a somewhat wider field: the improvement of education and of our economic system, but the study of human psychology in all its phases is the question that has greatest emphasis. The Foundation will study how people learn, how they communicate, how they organize into groups, what causes personal maladjustment, the use of knowledge of human behavior by medicine, education, law, government and many other fields.

Of all these matters, the most interesting and dramatic is the possibility of applying scientific knowledge to the problem of world peace, which is appropriately number one on the avowed list of intentions of the Foundation and is called by its trustees "the greatest single issue of our times." "Our one great need," the trustees say further, "is to acquire more knowledge of man and of the ways in which men can learn to live together in peace in a complex, conflicting and ever-changing world."

Just how useful is this enterprise likely to be? Is it really possible to spend the income from half a billion dollars a year usefully on such studies, to say nothing of any still larger sum made available by dipping into principal?

The answer to this question can only be determined by experience. As long as money is available, research scientists will always find ways of spending it. Some criticism is being heard that the fantastic size of the foundation—very much the largest in the world—will itself prove a handicap to its activities. I believe it is true that already its grants have approximately doubled the total funds available for all types of social-science research.

Ignoring the question whether the amount of money is proportionate to the size of the task, what likelihood is there that this research will have useful results in the field that is of greatest interest to all of us, that of reducing the prospect of future wars?

One must answer this question with caution. It would be all too easy to go off lyrically into the blue sky on the subject of what science will ultimately be able to do about human nature. There is certainly no prospect that these studies can influence in any material way the present tension between the Communist and non-Communist blocs of countries. It may take generations or centuries before we see any substantial application of laboratory knowledge to the problems of international relations.

With these reservations, it is proper to say that the highly skilled experts who are most competent to express a judgment—the psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists and others who spend their lives working in this field—do believe that ultimately tremendously impor-

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tant results can follow from large increments in our knowledge of how the mind works. Judgments to this effect have been registered not only by dozens of outstanding individual experts, but by official bodies such as the American Psychiatric Association, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Conference on Mental Health and many others. Roughly, their ideas may be summed up as follows:

Modern war tends increasingly to be fought for ideological reasons, and therefore represents more and more a conflict of rival fanaticisms. But fanaticism is itself a phenomenon that is subject to adjustment. Sometimes people are trained into fanatic faith, as were the German Nazis two decades ago and as are the Russian Communists today. People can also be trained for an anti-fanatical frame of mind, if the society of which they are a part wants that result.

It is true that many highly over-aggressive individuals are produced, even in a society like our own, which is certainly not trying to make totalitarian zealots out of its children. But here, too, the authorities believe that they know the processes which produce the rebel who becomes a gang leader, on a small scale, or a Hitler on a larger one. Roughly speaking, they say that such over-aggression is partly curable, and almost wholly preventable, by psychiatric processes which are now well within the range of laboratory knowledge and of practice on a limited scale, *and could be generally applied,* given sufficient public understanding and support.

There is a striking parallel, for example, between the characteristics found in typical juvenile delinquents in the slums of a big American city and those of the typical leaders of a totalitarian state. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of Harvard, outstanding authorities in this field, studied 500 juvenile delinquents in this country and compared them with 500 non-delinquents who came from practically identical backgrounds as to neighborhood, economic status and social position. The delinquents as a group had these clearly marked characteristics: they were assertive, defiant, suspicious, extroverted and stubborn. Anyone who has had contact with Nazi, Fascist or Communist leaders will recognize the parallel with the personalities of such men.

Psychiatrists, studying history past and present, find many actions taken by national leaders, in all parts of the world and at numerous periods, which they are inclined to bundle together as "infantile" or as showing grave emotional instability. Very many times, such actions have led to wars which now in retrospect seem to have been avoidable. People like the Kaiser, Hitler and Mussolini are obvious recent examples of men whose unstable emotional balance *combined with other factors* to precipitate conflict. The experts do not deny the existence of these other factors. What they say is that if we had emotionally stable leaders of populations with equal emotional stability, it seems likely that armed conflict could in many cases be avoided.

A conspicuous current example, as I have said, is of course the leaders of Communism throughout the world and particularly in Soviet Russia. These men are devoted to a politico-economic organization of society which they consider superior to any other. Common sense, logic and the philosophy of history would seem to suggest that they should try to prove this by the example of outstanding success in one country, or a group of countries, and should try to persuade the rest of the world of the correctness of their ideas. Abstract reason would further suggest that if their thesis proved in practice to be wrong, they should abandon it and try something else.

Yet as we all know, the leaders of Communism act as though they did not really believe in their own ideas. They are so afraid of opposing philosophies that they shoot or imprison everybody they can get their hands on who disagrees with them. They do their utmost to conceal from the world by censorship whether their plans are working out well or badly. They extend the sphere of their influence primarily by military strength and only secondarily, if at all, by persuasion. Instead of trying to attract the largest possible number of supporters in every country, they make their party into a secret society with rigid limitations on membership and ready dismissal. They justify all this on a *tu quoque* basis by saying that if they did not do these things to their enemies, they would suffer a similar fate. To the psychiatrist, the parallel between such attitudes and actions and those of the mentally disturbed in our own civilization are all too apparent.

Let me repeat, the leading experts in this field, the sort of men who are and will be associated with the studies of the Ford Foundation, offer no immediate hope because of the studies in which they are engaged. While there is some practical value in having one of two opponents able to study the psychological characteristics of the other, lasting results of importance can only come when these principles are accepted and applied in all major areas throughout the world. What the experts say is that in the long run theirs is the only sure road to permanent peace; and that therefore, it is time we started traveling that road—no matter how long it is.

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MILLION DOLLAR SENATORS

by Jean Begeman

AT THE turn of the century, the *World Almanac's* list of "American Millionaires" carried the names of 18 Senators—20 percent of the members of the Senate—and critics urging election reform revised an old proverb: "It is harder for a poor man to enter the United States Senate than for a rich man to enter Heaven."

The proverb is true again today.

To qualify for the Senate in 1952, you must be at least 30 years of age, a citizen of the US for nine years, an inhabitant of the state from which you will be chosen and, to have a fair chance of winning in any of the major two-party states, you must have one to three million dollars at your disposal.

Twenty-eight years ago a Senator from Michigan was forced to resign because of public pressure that resulted when a Congressional investigating committee publicized the fact that he had spent $195,000 in his campaign. Twenty-five years ago the Senate by a vote of 58 to 22 declared that a Senator from Pennsylvania, whose political forces had contributed $785,000 to his election, was not entitled to a seat in the upper house. The Congress and the people were shocked at such expenditures and, moreover, disappointed that ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913, which had taken the election of Senators away from state legislatures and placed it in the hands of the people, had not eliminated the conditions that brought about the election reform.

Certainly no one then would have believed that 25 years later, in 1950, a negligent press and an apathetic public would ignore registered campaign contributions amounting to over $2 million for Sen. Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) and a like amount for the election of Sen. James A. Duff (R, Pa.)—29 times as much as each of them will be paid during his six-year term!

For a century and a quarter US Senators were elected by state legislatures. But bitter fights, often resulting in violence and frequently causing a deadlock in the legislature, made election to Congress a farce. Bribery and corruption in the interest of certain candidates was the rule rather than the exception. Personal wealth and political power were closely akin. And the people began to refer to the Senate as the "Paradise of Millionaires."

Dr. George H. Haynes, the great student of the US Senate, wrote in 1906: "That many men of great wealth should be members of the Senate is not of itself a thing to be deplored. But it does become an inconsistency, dangerous to democracy, if members of the dominant branch of the legislature come to their positions solely because of their wealth . . . [or if they are] men who wear a Senatorship as some decoration granted them by a state legislature at the behest of the boss in recognition of their having piled up millions in mining copper or selling oil or watering gas stock."

Election by the people, it was thought, would lessen the influence of wealth upon the Senate. Congress in 1912 passed the Seventeenth Amendment, and it was ratified by the states the following year. That was 38 years ago, and, since that time, the cost of a Senate campaign has climbed so high that a man without powerful financial backing has no better chance of election by the people today than he would have had by state legislature in 1892.

The Corrupt Practices Act limits electoral spending by candidates for the Senate to not more than $25,000 but specifically excludes such campaign expenditures as the cost of postal card mailings, campaign literature, billboards and radio and television time, all of which are frequently financed for the candidate by various city and county committees. Candidates are not required by the Corrupt Practices Act to report what independent committees and friends spend, unless they personally authorize it; nor are the committees and friends required to report what they spend.

Taft, for example, reported to the Ohio Secretary of State and the Clerk of the Senate, as required by law, contributions totaling $1,800 and expenditures of $1,533 during his last campaign. But 45 "Taft for Senate Committees" voluntarily reported $425,987.35 in campaign expenditures. In addition, the Republican State Central and Executive Committee of Ohio, the Republican Women's Division and the Ohio Republican Finance Committee registered another $1,639,071.52 in Taft's behalf. The grand total: $2,066,591.87. (Ohio, incidentally, was the state in which labor concentrated, but it only spent $250,000 to elect Joe Ferguson—one-tenth the amount spent by Taft forces.) No newspaper printed a line about these official reports of expenditures which 30 years ago would have shocked the nation.

To show the absurdity of present reporting of campaign expenditures under the Corrupt Practices Act one needs only to examine official statements of political committees and candidates on file with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate. The 75 aspirants for 36 Senate seats in the 1950 election reported total expenditures of $915,475. The 808 candidates for the 437 House seats reported spending in toto $1,861,789. Senator-elect

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James H. Duff (R, Pa.), for example, filed total contributions of $15,545 and expenditures of only $12,839. However, the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, which has been looking into the Pennsylvania campaigns, believes the Pennsylvania election to be one of the most costly campaigns of 1950. In the Republican primary last May, in which Duff received the Senatorial nomination by defeating the Grundy machine, the Senate committee estimates that the two GOP factions together spent $1.8 million. In the general election, the two major parties together exceeded the $3 million mark, with Republicans outspending the Democrats by better than two to one. Total Republican expenditures filed with the Bureau of Elections in Harrisburg were $2,160,492; total Democratic expenditures reported were $996,934.

Largest individual donors to the Pennsylvania GOP last year were members of the Mellon family, who gave $16,000 and members of the Pew family, with a donation of $12,000. The Democrats, defeated in both the Senatorial and gubernatorial races, had few big-money donations at their disposal. Largest contributors were the National CIO-PAC with $12,500, Sen. Francis J. Myers, Judge Michael Eagan and five others, with $5,000 each.

Although the filing of a statement of receipts and expenditures is required by law in all except two states, Illinois and Rhode Island, few states enforce detailed reporting by local campaign committees and individual donors. It is therefore difficult even to estimate the cost of elections. However, using Ohio and Pennsylvania as a guide, one can be sure that Republican Representative Richard Nixon's Senatorial campaign in California, with five million voters and more territory to cover, cost at least $1.6 million (said to be a "conservative estimate").

Nixon had approximately 1,400 billboards blanketing the state (and as far south as Tiajuana, Mexico, to catch the weekend tourist trade). In Los Angeles, "Elect Congressman Richard Nixon US Senator" stared at you from almost every corner; and in several instances, Nixon billboards appeared at all four intersections. Nixon had $50-an-hour skywriters spelling "Vote for Nixon" across the heavens. One of Nixon's henchmen, George Creel, who headed the "Democrats for Nixon" club, is reported to have been paid $16,000. It was a costly campaign and a dollar-for-dollar one which Helen Douglas, the defeated Democratic candidate, could not begin to meet. A single statewide mailing to both registered Democrats and Republicans—and Nixon had at least two such direct mailings — costs approximately $350,000. And yet Nixon's report to the Secretary of the Senate shows total contributions of only $5,800 and expenditures of only $8,300. More realistically, Helen Douglas reported contributions and expenditures of $44,257.

The St. Petersburg *Times* recently made a comprehensive study of the Florida campaign in which George Smathers defeated Sen. Claude Pepper for renomination. The *Times* weighed the amount of newspaper and radio advertising and came to the conclusion that "there is evidence to indicate that Sen. Claude Pepper and George Smathers had combined expenditures of about $2 million in their contest for the Senate primary."

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, headed by Sen. Guy Gillette (D, Iowa), is now studying the high cost of living in politics. Chairman Gillette feels strongly that the price politicians must pay to be elected is a "serious threat to men of limited means. Loopholes have nullified some sections of election laws to the extent that candidates without personal fortunes are unable to run unless they are willing to accept contributions from pressure interests."

Although there is wide recognition that present regulation of campaign expenditures is not very effective, there is no general agreement on measures of reform. Certainly the present ceiling limitations on contributions by political committees and individuals, as well as on the expenditures of candidates, are unrealistic and unenforceable. There should be a uniform system of reporting *all* contributions and expenses of candidates, including those made by friends and committees, and the reports should be given prompt publicity. Until the people know who is paying the bill for multi-million dollar campaigns, who is donating the money to various local committees in support of a candidate, there will be no true measure of whether a candidate represents the people, a corporation, the Chicago *Tribune*, as in the case of Maryland's Senator-elect John Marshall Butler (see *NR*, April 2) or a boss of the gangster underworld (as the current crime investigation hearings have suggested).

To make the people aware of the astronomical cost of a Senatorial election, publicizing the sources of campaign revenue is the first job. This knowledge alone might be enough to convince us that it is cheaper to pay our own political bill. The *New Republic* has suggested in the past that a system of party membership dues, with some of the revenue flowing back to the state organizations, would give political parties more democratic financial support.

When popular election of Senators was instituted, William Jennings Bryan optimistically predicted: "We will find that instead of having the Senate filled up with the representatives of predatory wealth who use their power to oppose the things that the people love—we will find that the honor of a position in that body will be reserved as a prize with which to reward those who have proved themselves capable of the discharge of public duties and men to be trusted with the people's interests." It will take far more drastic reforms to bring this about.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Governor Dewey Hides Out*

WHAT HAS become of the great "crime-buster" of yesteryear, Thomas E. Dewey, now Governor of New York, whose mouth is again watering for the Republican nomination for President? Declining to appear before the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee in New York and do what he could to unravel the connection between politics and the underworld, particularly as regards gambling, Governor Dewey merely stroked his minuscule mustache and invited the Committee to Albany as overnight guests in the Governor's mansion. The Committee declined an invitation that it would have been beneath the dignity of United States Senators to accept and returned to Washington without having received any help from a man who started his public career by indicting and convicting gangsters and crooks. Dewey is enjoying his third term as Governor, and he has twice been a candidate for President. As the titular national leader of the Republican Party, one would think that he would be eager to advise with the Kefauver Committee and give it all the help possible.

The close relationship between crime and politics is something about which Governor Dewey ought to know a good deal. He could and should help to expose the facts of the common-law marriage between this twain. Mr. Dewey knows about crime and politics from close observation and, in one case at least, personal association. It has not been forgotten that he promised and, pursuant to that promise, later gave former Lt. Gov. Joe Hanley a lucrative state job in consideration of which Hanley withdrew as a candidate for Governor last year after Dewey changed his mind and broke his promise not to run again. This promise of a job to Hanley, which was well publicized during the 1950 campaign, was a violation of the law of the State of New York which might have resulted in a trial and conviction if the proper District Attorney had done his duty. It may be that this brush with the law has melted the Dewey heart and made him sympathetic to others less fortunate or influential than he.

The Kefauver Committee should have subpoenaed Dewey as it has others who, it thought, might throw some light on the comings and goings of such "lonely hearts" as Frank Costello and William O'Dwyer. However, the Kefauver Committee has already obtained some startling facts that indicate the reciprocal back-scratching of habitual criminals and their political pals. One tangible result so far has been the indictment for perjury of James Moran, a long-time intimate of former Mayor O'Dwyer and of Louis Weber, referred to in an Associated Press dispatch as a "racketeer." Of course, it has not been a secret for many years that, especially in our larger cities, gambling and other criminal activities have not only flourished but have been protected on a bought-and-paid-for basis.

John Crane, President of the Uniformed Firemen's Association, testified that, during the 1948 Presidential campaign of Mr. Dewey, he gave $3,500 to John R. Crews, Brooklyn Republican leader. Mr. Crews let it be known that he turned this money in with other contributions to the party treasury. Mr. Crane also said under oath that he had put $10,000 in cash in an envelope and had himself handed it to Mayor O'Dwyer at Gracie Mansion. This was in 1949 when Mayor O'Dwyer was running for re-election. The former Mayor has vehemently denied that Mr. Crane gave him $10,000. Obviously, one of the two committed perjury, and the public is entitled to have the question of veracity pressed further as between them. It is not fair, either to the public or to the two men involved, for such an issue to be left in suspense. Surely, if given the chance, Rudolph Halley, the able counsel for the Kefauver Committee, will adduce further evidence, even if it be circumstantial, that will throw a clearer light on this alleged transaction.

It would also be interesting to know whether the coy Mr. Dewey knew of the contribution by Mr. Crane that has been admitted by Mr. Crews. More interesting still would be the unravelling of the tangled political skein of New York City politics in which dirty money and gangsters and crooks seem to play such a large part. O'Dwyer admitted one, and perhaps two, visits to Frank Costello at his home. Costello's connection with the underworld and with politics, especially with Tammany Hall, has been pretty clearly etched out in the testimony to date. But how about possible political maneuverings involving Dewey and O'Dwyer and Impellitteri? It was apparent during the 1950 campaign in New York that there was some sort of an understanding between Governor Dewey, Republican, and Impellitteri, the Tammany maverick who captured the mayoralty with someone's assistance. There have been rumors for several years of an accord between Governor Dewey and former Mayor O'Dwyer. And just why did Governor Dewey pardon the arch criminal "Lucky" Luciano? With a little more digging, the final truth may be discovered. The shy Mr. Dewey should be given a chance to testify under oath.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

ORTHODOX REASON AND MODERN SOVEREIGNTY

by Morton White

NOT CONTENT with the pragmatic defense of democracy, the Walgreen Foundation has inaugurated a series of volumes which are to defend it by appealing to more solid "rational" principles. The Foundation has chosen a philosopher well suited to this task in Jacques Maritain, a man of some dialectical skill, historical learning and impeccable Catholic orthodoxy; but this reviewer must report his surprise and even his horror at the questionable premises and shabby reasoning used in the more philosophical parts of this book.

MAN AND THE STATE, by Jacques Maritain (University of Chicago Press; $3.50).

The doctrine of natural law is more than the scholastic philosopher's stone—it is his rock; it supposedly underlies all our political rights. A piano, Maritain tells us with Aristotelian simplicity, has as its end the production of sounds and if it doesn't produce them it must be judged worthless. A good piano is one that plays; it successfully attains its end, and if it doesn't, not only is it not a good piano, it is not a piano at all. We may say, therefore, that a piano is by definition a key-board instrument that emits musical tones when its keys are struck, and use the definition as a standard for good pianos. This much we can take, but surely not the supposed analogy with man which is then drawn for the purpose of explaining natural law. Pianos are artificial, but men are not, and only by assuming a theological dogma can we say that men, like pianos, are constructed for certain purposes. Men may *seek* ends, but that is another matter. We may formulate a standard for good pianos by reminding ourselves of the purposive definition of a piano, but we cannot speak of "the ends of men" and "the ends of pianos" without exploiting ambiguity or dogma. Men *seek* ever so many things that Maritain would call evil, so that he can hardly discover a series of moral laws merely by observing what goals men *do* seek. What Maritain wants is a series of moral laws describing how men *ought* to behave, and these he cannot get merely by distilling the essence of man.

Aristotle hoped to define man's highest good by emphasizing his difference from all other animals—his rationality. But if all men are rational, how absurd it is to set up rationality as a goal to be sought! It is sometimes replied that the Aristotelian definition of man requires only a minimum of rationality, and then it is urged that what man *ought* to do is to improve on his distinguishing feature. But this is a fallacious defense of what might be a plausible view, for man may also be defined as the only animal that lies and yet this would hardly imply that he should devote himself to a life of prevarication. Aristotle, St. Thomas and Maritain will now undoubtedly call upon the distinction between the *essence* of being a rational animal and the *accident* of being a liar, but this stems from an absurd logical doctrine, so let us pass on to Maritain's reflections on the idea of sovereignty in the hope of doing better in politics than we did in ethics and logic.

Maritain's discussion of sovereignty is an amalgam of truth and metaphorical obscurity culminating in dogma. The truth is conveyed in the proposition that we may always make moral appeal beyond the decisions of any state or group of people; the obscurity lies in Maritain's use of the part-whole relation in defending it. To be sovereign, he says, is to be independent of and separate from the whole which is ruled, but the state is at best the topmost part of the body politic, and the body politic can hardly be separate from itself. But, now, if the state and the body politic are not sovereign, who is? God.

Since natural law is the basis of moral obligation and since God is truly sovereign and since the Church is allegedly the best interpreter of both, why should not the Church have the secular power it had in medieval times? This is an embarrassing question for neo-scholastics, and it should be said on Maritain's behalf that he really opposes the view that the Church can ask kings to expel heretics, or use "the rights of the spiritual sword to seize upon temporal affairs for the sake of some spiritual necessity." But it is important to remember that this handsome disavowal of medievalism does not derive from natural law but rather from a recognition of practical necessity. "The Church," according to Maritain, "does not lose any of the essential rights she has claimed or exercised in the past"; she merely renounces the exercise of them now in the interest of the good both of the Church and society. In short, the trouble with theocracy is that now it won't work. In criticizing some of his over-eager co-religionists Maritain reminds those who would "require that the State make all non-Christians and non-Orthodox second-rate citizens" of "the consequences that such a claim would entail, not only for themselves but for the very work of the Church in the world." It would appear that those who wear the spiritual sword hesitate to unsheathe it today not from scruples flowing from natural law, but from an artful pragmatism of their own.

Liberals will duly note Maritain's assurances, born of a speculative philosophy of history, that the time will never come again when the civil power will be the secular arm of the Church, but they must remember that the *right* to return to a "sacral regime," according to Maritain, is zealously guarded by the Church and is restricted only by its *own* conception of its *own* good and that of society. They will appreciate Maritain's declaration that men mutually opposed in their philosophies may come to a

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merely practical agreement about a list of human rights, and they may even quote his observation that it is too much for the state "to judge whether a work of art is possessed by an intrinsic quality of immorality" when they attack the suppression of "sacrilegious" movies. But they will surely remain unmoved by the philosophy which animates this book, for it is contrary to reason and experience.

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THE ANTI-PHILISTINE

NOBLE ESSENCES, by Sir Osbert Sitwell (Little, Brown; $4.50).

NOBLE ESSENCES is the fifth and final volume of Sir Osbert Sitwell's autobiographical saga—a remarkable, perhaps a unique, achievement of its kind. For while its theme is particularly the growth of an artist over fifty or more years, the setting recreates in elaborate detail the privileged society of a nearly vanished age. Sir Osbert is in the interesting position of belonging both to this privileged world, which is naturally conservative, and to the artist's world, which is naturally experimental and rebellious. Out of this dual experience the richness of his book arises.

Great wealth and great leisure generate eccentricity, if nothing more baneful: readers of the earlier volumes may recall in this light the author's mother, "helpless as an Infanta," unable even to fasten her own shoelaces or to conceive of a life without money in endless supply; and the father, living in a feudal medieval world of his own imagining—a man whose egotism was of so stark, original and unselfconscious a nature that it was (if not his son's major literary invention) almost a form of genius. At the whim of these extraordinary parents, or subjected to the rigors of an expensive English education, accustomed to lavishness, and to parsimony where servants' wages and charities were concerned, the young Sitwells had no easy childhood. And in the great houses where they visited their relations, even time moved in a ponderous measure of its own; the rites of the English Sunday and of the diurnal family prayers only emphasizing the devotion, for the rest of the week, to sport—the ritual killing of dedicated birds and beasts in season. Here, perhaps for the last time, the old still had power over the young. Thus, at nineteen, the author was receiving from his father a shilling a day pocket money. Since he disliked horses and militarism, he was sent into the Cavalry Brigade, though later he was able to transfer to the more liberal, Ouida-like milieu of the Grenadier Guards. Freedom came in the years following his service in the First World War, in a London offering the young newcomer his chosen delights of opera, theatre, ballet, and the company of fellow artists. It is these years, chiefly, that provide the background to *Noble Essences*. In a previous volume, Sir Osbert wrote:

> The artist has throughout his career to fight the Philistine. And my life in these early days at least enabled me to feel and appreciate the immense negative energy, if I may so term it, of the opposition. . . . Yet perhaps it is this evil thing that has always given strength to English artists—those who survived.

If *Noble Essences* has rather less vitality than the first four books, this is, I think, because it deals only with what we might call the anti-Philistines. It is a kind of gallery of men and women —writers, artists, wits, society hostesses —whom he has known during the half-century, and who belong, as he says, to categories unlikely to occur in other times. These include Edmund Gosse, the late-Victorian critic; Ada Leverson, novelist and hostess, who defied public opinion by giving shelter to Wilde in the weeks before his second trial; W. H. Davies, the Welsh tramp poet; Arnold Bennett, who so much more resembled a businessman than a novelist; and Ronald Firbank, writer of the most witty, decadent and fantastic novels of the last fifty years; Sickert the artist; Wilfred Owen, killed at twenty-five in the 1914 war, and the greatest of its poets; Rex Whistler the artist, killed in the war of 1939.

Sir Osbert describes himself as "a watcher of human beings, and especially of artists, as others are, for instance, bird-watchers; and the movable hollow tree or hide-out in which I conceal myself is the blank and, I hope, bland mask and massive frame that I have inherited." That is not quite just; it takes no account of the warmth of his response to all creative artists, an enthusiasm which expresses itself in superlatives, and weakens, perhaps, the impact of these biographical sketches. The book is nevertheless a clear enough mirror of its author. What chiefly strikes us about his style, at once rich, precise and gay, is that every image is visual in origin—though reflecting not the simplicity of the bird-watcher but the romantic sophistication of the theatregoer. "Molehills reared their haunted summits and fantastic peaks in all directions," he writes of his father; "but the real mountains he failed ever to perceive." His own life and the lives of his friends fall into a series of vivid pictorial moments. I quote, from the earlier volumes, two of these; one recalling "how the scarlet dress of my pale young sister—with her hair of shallow gold that was almost a polar green—blazed out against the lying avenues of the tapestry, that led from nowhere to nowhere"; the other, part of a description of the countryside under snow:

> It appeared even more bitter, perhaps, in the lilac hour of dusk, when alone, colour came to it, and every wide stretch of snow, every height of cloud, built up into such a demented architectonic mass of torn towers and crags, took up this tone of violet, cruel and sterile. Then, particularly, the bones of the Norsemen under their feather quilts must have felt at home.

Noble Essences is not without its share of the author's evocative brilliance. But its temper seems a little disturbed, suggesting that, as Sir Osbert moves further in time from his beginnings, he draws nearer to them in spirit. When he writes of the contemporary world his generous and humane regard is broken by a sort of petulance. "No more is man to labour for a vision," he complains with a sweeping indifference to history, "but instead, merely for the day's food; for the new barbarism decrees an equal share of misery, ugliness, hebetude, shame, and ultimately of nihility, for each and all." It is hardly necessary to underline the

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fallacy, nor to stress that the elegance, gayety and luxury for which he sighs were the complement of a melancholy and degrading poverty—or, to use his own words, of misery, ugliness, hebetude, shame and ultimately nihility for the greater number of people. He himself admits that the Philistines, or destroyers, were to be found in the old world as well as the new. Perhaps this illogic must always be behind the generalized good will of the old-fashioned liberal, who desires to ameliorate and yet to preserve the conditions that cause at the same time his ease and his discomfort. When Sir Osbert speaks, however, about the creative artist and his work—"the spirit made concrete and the flesh made eternal"—he is on surer ground. We may remember also, in assessing the work of which *Noble Essences* is the conclusion, that a Sitwell is a rarity, an enormously expensive production of time as well as circumstance, and is not likely to appear again (except by imitation) in the England or America of the future. NAOMI LEWIS

Naomi Lewis, English critic and broadcaster for the BBC's "Third Program," writes for the "New Statesman and Nation" and the "Observer" in London.

FICTION PARADE

A Breath of Air, by Rumer Godden (Viking; $3).

To cast Shakespeare's "Tempest" in modern dress is a titillating idea, but it means treading delicately among the pitfalls. Strip the play of its singing and jeweled colors and you have a primitive, fairy-tale plot. To rebuild the story as a modern novel, the characters would have to be amplified with newer facets of human complexities or so endowed with charm and originality as to dazzle the reader out of sober comparison.

Neither, unfortunately, happens in Rumer Godden's *A Breath of Air.* Having established her Scottish Earl, Mr. van Loomis, as Prospero, and his daughter Charis as Miranda, and having supplied parallels for Ariel, Caliban and the others, she lets her Ferdinand (Valentine Doubleday) descend in an airplane on Mr. van Loomis' little island kingdom. Here they pace out the story line on a scheme which is neither cloaked in the misty, magical atmosphere of the Elizabethan play nor clear with the revealing insights that one has come to expect from Miss Godden.

A Breath of Air contains some inventive and amusing translations to the present—Ariel slips into corruption on the seductive charms of magazine advertisements; these same magazines terrify Miranda, who is awed by the high glaze of the ladies of fashion pictured in them. There are also charming bits of description of the natives and their dances, their beauty and the beauty of their island.

That is about the whole of it, which does not add up to much more than a pretty, lyrical improvisation.

The Young May Moon, by P. H Newby (Knopf; $3).

P. H. Newby comes to us heralded by the acclaim of a small but knowing public, but this novel seems to justify only part of that enthusiasm. Like a number of modern English writers, Newby writes brilliantly around a subject into which he seems to have put a negligible emotional investment.

His novel deals with fifteen-year-old Philip, who travels a Calvary of loneliness, confusion, bitterness and finally understanding after the death of the woman whom he had thought of as his mother, and after his father abandons him. In reality the woman was his stepmother and he must, when he finds out, recast his thinking and feelings about her and his father, and try to create an image of his real mother from the conflicting attitudes of the adults around him.

The framework is here for a moving book but Newby's concentration is less on the boy's emotion and development than on descriptions of objects and minor characters. Thus, a dough-mixing machine has more character than the people who tend it; an old man whom Philip's father encounters casually is by far the more vivid of the two; a description of Philip's clothing is memorable while the boy himself is shadowy. In displaying his virtuoso powers, Newby neglects to make his people mesh, each seeming to move in his own vacuum of impenetrability. The novel has the look of a surrealist landscape, the objects charged and vivid, the figures dim and standing alone in a bright and arid world.

Robert Tallant's *A State in Mimosa* (Doubleday; $3), on the other hand, is a powerful, deeply felt novel drained and weakened by careless writing.

The story, briefly, is of John Caliph, who returns after many years of absence to the small Southern town in which he had been raised. With him come two friends, a man and wife who had been Polish DPs. In their encounters with the people of Mimosa we watch the suspicions of provincialism swell into the brutalities of fascism. The idea is valid and authentic, but the hero is not, nor is the heroine, and the clichés of character portrayal and dialogue dull the impact of a meaningful plot. K. S.

THEATRE

Classics, More or Less

WHAT MAKES a play come alive in the theatre? The expected and basic answer is: a good text. But this answer, despite its plausibility, is not necessarily true. "Romeo and Juliet," I venture to say, is a good play, while "The Moon Is Blue" is merely a cute improvisation. Yet "Romeo and Juliet," with Olivia de Havilland and a cast of quite respectable actors, is barely alive; "The Moon Is Blue" is alive enough to be delightful to many and irritating to a few.

If you have never seen "Romeo and Juliet" before, and its words strike you with a fresh impact, you may find the production captivating. (I once saw a lot of young people in Moscow shaken by sobs at a poorly acted performance of "La Dame aux Camélias.") But for me the sign that there is little life in the current production is that I had hardly any reaction. It did not even bore me.

I heard all the words distinctly, and the story line was clear (not so usual an occurrence as one might suppose in Anglo-American Shakespeare), but despite these two assets, I cannot report what the play was meant to convey. There was much talk of love, but I felt neither true sentiment nor passion on the stage. The settings were lavish, but I sensed no particular atmosphere. The play takes place in Italy, and might presumably have something to do with the mores or spirit of the Renaissance, but nothing induced my imagination to soar beyond Forty-fourth Street.

For a play (that is, a total stage event) to come alive on the stage it must have *some sort of face.* The present "Romeo and Juliet" has none. It is basically a stock production on which much money and effort have been spent, but it lacks a central conception of any kind, or even the virtue of a simple theatrical naiveté. It was produced as a vehicle for a star without any thought to the problem of how the star's qualities might best be revealed.

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"The Moon Is Blue" is popular-magazine romance. Barbara Bel Geddes is an unusually talented actress of considerable charm who, I hope, will some day escape the pseudo-teen-age roles in which she has so often allowed herself to be confined as in a downy crib. Barry Nelson is a likable actor of genuine potentialities. Together with Donald Cook, a practised comedian better in this play than he has been in a long time, these young people make "The Moon Is Blue" a slick piece of bemusement. Whether or not it actually pleases you depends to a certain extent on whether you can prevent yourself from thinking about it. If it should suddenly occur to you that most of the fun is based on a moral premise which makes crucial the problem of when and how a twenty-year-old "good girl" (virgin) is going to turn into either a "bad girl" (unmarried non-virgin) or simply into a wholesome girl with a proper husband, your disposition might turn sour.

Louis Jouvet's production of Molière's "L'Ecole des Femmes," presented here by ANTA, is a mixture of inspiration and French theatrical routine. Its most creative aspect is Christian Bérard's setting, a fancifully swift, delicate, precise rendering of seventeenth-century classic comedy as seen by a sophisticated modern. The setting is not merely an ornament, but a content: it tells us something of Molière's world and even more about the contemporary Frenchmen who are interpreting him.

There are many bright things in the performance: divinely doll-faced Dominique Blanchar's reading of the maxims for wives, the asthmatic notary's wheezing excitement, Jouvet's idiotically complacent laugh which changes through consternation to a strangled animal's stare. Still I could not help feeling a certain off-handedness in the production, the repetitious and monotonous use of conventional tricks with little true comic invention such as, in terms of the American theatre, we get from Ray Bolger.

Molière suffered real anguish at the thought of being cuckolded and his comedy is as extravagant as his fear was real. The direction and acting did not develop this motif, which constitutes the core of the play. There is too much of the actor's charade in Jouvet's production, not enough of the heart-rending farce, the brilliantly civilized cruelty which represents a large part of Molière's genius. The French today depend too much on the excellence of their classic texts and content themselves too readily with being only appreciative—though often careless—lackeys to their authors. HAROLD CLURMAN

MUSIC

Revelation of Sublimity

THIS YEAR the Metropolitan Opera abandoned temporarily its custom of presenting Wagner's "Parsifal," and instead allotted two performances of Giuseppe Verdi's "Messa da Requiem" (familiarly known as the "Manzoni Requiem") to Bruno Walter, as both a Holy Week devotion and a tribute to Verdi on the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The singers were the opera chorus—ranged formally on the stage with the women in white robes and the men in tuxedos—and a solo quartet composed of Zinka Milanov, Elena Nikolaidi, Jan Peerce and Cesare Siepi.

Traditionalists who had been put out that they could not hear "Parsifal" left the opera house confounded and overwhelmed. For these afternoon performances of the Verdi Requiem (unhappily the Texas Company declined to pay for a broadcast) were two of the profoundest and most moving musical experiences of our generation. Once before, when Ossip Gabrilowitch conducted Bach's "Passion According to St. Matthew" in 1928, with Richard Crooks and Margaret Matzenauer among the soloists, I heard a religious work given with comparable spiritual exaltation and impeccable technique.

Flashes of inspiration are not uncommon phenomena in the concert hall, but such sustained inspiration as this is so rare as to be almost non-existent. Arturo Toscanini was not possessed by it when he gave his vehement radio broadcast of this same work a few weeks ago; he was intent on dominating the music and making the singers toe the line, and the result, while spectacular, was inhuman. Walter's devotion to the letter of the work was as complete as Toscanini's, and his way of revealing its spirit was full of love and noble sweetness.

Zinka Milanov sang like the queen of the angels. Her tone gleamed in the soft high notes; in the final climax she dominated the chorus with a long-sustained high C of imperial grandeur, and then, two octaves lower, captured the overtones of eternity as she recited on a monotone the closing fragment, "Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna." Not since Rosa Ponselle at her peak has such vocal glory suffused the Metropolitan.

Miss Milanov's partners also carried their responsibilities well. Miss Nikolaidi, the gifted Greek contralto, sang Verdi's long lines in a way that informed them with warmth and meaning, and blended her voice to perfection with Miss Milanov's in their duets. Both Peerce and Siepi made much of their individual opportunities, yet always related the texture of their voices to that of the others in the ensembles.

And through it all shone the intensity of Walter's belief in the music and the generosity with which he made it easy, not to say inevitable, for each performer to surpass his ordinary level of accomplishment. He possesses the conductor's most important touchstone: the realization that great conducting entails not military regimentation but persuasion, entreaty and a sense on the part of each performer that he shares not only in the mechanical responsibilities but in the ultimate artistic triumph.

The memory of such an event naturally overshadows all else. In an ordinary retrospect, however, the première at the Juilliard School of Music on March 15 of Luigi Dallapiccola's opera "The Prisoner" would loom fairly large. Dallapiccola is an Italian composer whose works are still little known here, but whose reputation both here and in Europe has grown to considerable size since the end of the war. Though he employs the forbidding twelve-tone system derived from Arnold Schönberg, he considers himself at the same time a

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continuator of the Verdi tradition of vocal expression. The Juilliard production gave us our first chance to see how this combination of styles works out.

The answer seemed to be, not very well. Intended as a parallel to events in our time, "The Prisoner" recounts the brief history of a political victim of Philip II and the Inquisition. At the outset of the opera, in half-realistic, half-subliminal fashion, the prisoner tells his mother that for the first time he is filled with hope because his jailer has called him "brother." He subsequently finds the door of his cell open, and the rest of the doors on the way to the Grand Hall of the Inquisition. He has persuaded himself that freedom is almost within his grasp when the Grand Inquisitor appears and proves to be none other than his jailer. The moral of the tale is that nothing in human experience can provide such bitter suffering as hope.

The opera is too little a play and too much a quiet, introverted psychological monologue. Despite the effort of the Juilliard production staff to liven things up with trick lighting behind a scrim, "The Prisoner" was not a good theatre piece. Perhaps the music, which is not without interest in both its technique and its psychological expression, would carry more weight in a concert performance. It is chilling, however, to realize that "The Prisoner" is widely considered the most effective European postwar opera. If that is so, we must keep on looking to our own composers for operas that are less involved, less self-conscious stylistically, and better attuned to the normal requirements of the theatre.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Mostly from France

IN A MEDIUM where plots frequently seem to be endless rearrangements of fragments in a kaleidoscope, the story of "God Needs Men" is so fresh that it may make this new French import look better than it is. I doubt it, though; the picture is not great but it is good, an entertainment that yet speaks thoughtfully of serious matters.

"God Needs Men" was photographed almost entirely on the small, barren island of Sein, off the coast of Brittany. It is a rudely beautiful spot—gray rock in the sea, crouching houses of the same gray rock, a gray stone church and bitter people dressed in black. The story centers upon the church. A hundred years ago the people of Sein were so wicked in their poverty that they lighted false beacons for mariners and scavenged the wreckage down to the boots of the drowned sailors. Since they were unregenerate in this evil livelihood, the Church abandoned them; their priest sailed back to the mainland and they were left with an empty altar and no one to hear their sins.

But to the murderers of Sein, religion was as necessary as food and drink (the more so, they pointed out with no trace of irony, because they were so wicked) and one of their number (Pierre Fresnay) took over those offices of the church that could be assumed by a layman with no more offense than impropriety. He spoke to the congregation on Sunday, talked with his fellows of their fears and troubles and kept up the church against the arrival of a new pastor. Then the people demanded more of him—the sacrament and absolution—and for a layman this meant sacrilege; more, it instilled in their leader the deadly sin of pride. So in desperation he rushed to the mainland and begged on his knees for a new priest and in time one came. He came as a missionary to the heathen, with armed police at his side. This was not to the liking of the people of Sein and they found a way to show this dignitary that in their own manner they also feared God.

That is only to scratch the story; to go further would be to spoil it. What is important is that it is told (Jean Delannoy is the director) with candid lack of pretension but full appreciation of its own importance. The people of the village are bleakly beautiful and they carry out their roles with an unstressed dignity that is rare in life today and rarer still on the screen. And leading them is Pierre Fresnay, who, when he is given a full-bodied part like this, acts with an understanding and a controlled emotional strength that is unexcelled.

"God Needs Men" is being shown at the Paris Theatre in New York, from which "The Miracle" was lately evicted by Catholic bigotry. It is to be hoped that this time even the archdiocese will be able to understand the meaning of what it sees.

"Lady Paname" is a very French kind of picture. Shabby and careless, almost contemptuously thrown together, it nevertheless manages to be ingratiating and consistently amusing. The action takes place in and around a neighborhood cabaret in a year when the girls of Paris were feeling the influence of Anita Loos, Clara Bow and John Held Jr. Suzy Delair plays a chanteuse-stripper; Louis Jouvet, as a declassé gentleman, fools through a part that is reprehensibly easy for him; there is some mumbo-jumbo about an unlucky song and a hint of the economics of organized pimping. "Lady Paname" is completely spurious and more than a little confusing—except, that is, for the sexuality, which is explicit and unabashed and therefore at once appetizing and inoffensive.

It is astonishing that Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger, that agile and knowing team responsible for some of England's most attractive pictures, could have perpetrated the present "Tales of Hoffmann." They offer again a number of the stars from "The Red Shoes," but no trace of the wit, grace and imagination of the earlier movie appears in the Offenbach screening. The picture, aching with over-explicit and repetitious pantomime and displayed before a series of profligately expensive and sadistically ugly sets, drags leaden feet through the libretto for an exhausting two and a half hours. I am told by a musician friend that the voices are adequate, but, except for Robert Rounseville, who sings Hoffmann, and Ann Ayars, as Antonia, they are not the

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voices of the actors and the dubbing is obtrusively inept. Frederick Ashton designed the choreography, a measure of his success being the ballet in the prologue which is danced across a stage so cluttered with plastic lily pads that it is impossible to discern the pattern, let alone the quality, of Moira Shearer's and Edmund Audran's duet. Pamela Brown wanders through this catastrophe as Hoffmann's friend, opening her mouth now and then to let someone else sing through it, but for the most part smiling with wise pity at the proceedings. Robert Helpmann, a fine dancer, has almost no opportunity to dance as Hoffmann's evil genius and his gift for acting is confined to exploiting his saturnine face in an eye-popping imitation of Dr. Caligari. Leonide Massine, a gallant trouper, exhausts himself to no purpose. The Technicolor looks like crayons left over night on a radiator.

Despite its obvious intention to be a decent treatment of a painful situation, the Italian "Angelo" is an unsatisfactory, often embarrassing picture. It is the story of a little mulatto boy (his mother had loved a Negro GI during her husband's prolonged absence in the war) and it apparently parallels to some extent the real history of the young actor. The mother dies in childbirth; the husband, returning to claim his son, is repelled by the obviously negroid child. He comes in time to love the boy but then decides that he must give him up to his uncle (the father is dead), who has come from America to claim him.

All this is told by the author-director, Francesco de Robertis, with a sentimental disregard for human behavior. Angelo is exploited as though he were a fetching monkey, the supposition that because of his Negro blood he would immediately desert his foster-father and his whole Italian life for a stranger is absurd and the intruder from America is a nightmare caricature of a Negro, false in every gesture and parading a hateful unctuousness that is intended to denote untutored nobility. It was foolish to import this awkward, ignorant film.

ROBERT HATCH

(Continued from page 4)

to point out the intense and deeply ingrained antagonism of China toward Russia. To ignore these lessons of cultural heritage is folly, to restrict our policy to dogmatic terms may be disastrous. The US possesses the very ingredients necessary for the survival of any Chinese nation; Russia cannot supply economic help, as can be seen by their paltry $3 million economic grant. Certainly, by taking advantage of the possibilities, we may be able to win Red China to our side; but not to try is to accept a perpetual enemy who is in a strategic flanking position in Asia ever ready to threaten Indo-China, Indonesia and India. . . .

New York City LESLIE E. SCHWARTZ

SIR: The ADA's Cleveland convention was, in fact, the "market place for exchange of viewpoints" which Mr. Schwartz values so highly. Both those who favored a milder China policy, and those who favored a stronger one, argues their cases vigorously and well, but neither group prevailed. When ADAers speak of "unity" they do not mean uniformity. They simply mean that all concerned accepted the convention verdict in good spirit, reserving the right, of course, to try for a different result next year.

Mr. Schwartz has perhaps not seen the complete ADA policy statement. The sentence, "It would be folly to be guided by the hope of luring Peking away from Moscow," is followed immediately by a sentence which Mr. Schwartz should approve:

"We can hope that in the long run the intensity of Chinese nationalism and the weight of Chinese national interests increasingly will impel an independent policy." In the meanwhile, however, ADA did not feel that risks could be taken with the welfare of the free world because of hopes which, if they materialize, may take some while to do so.

Since Mr. Schwartz is so suspicious of unity, even among liberals sharing basic convictions, one can only deduce that a "successful" ADA convention would require a bitter factionalism ending in some kind of split. It may be true that such a convention would be more exciting, but we remain skeptical of the value it would have for American liberalism faced with a desperate and determined opposition. We are not ashamed of the sense of political maturity and unity that informed the delegates to this Fourth Annual Convention.

JAMES LOEB JR.
National Executive Secretary, ADA
Washington

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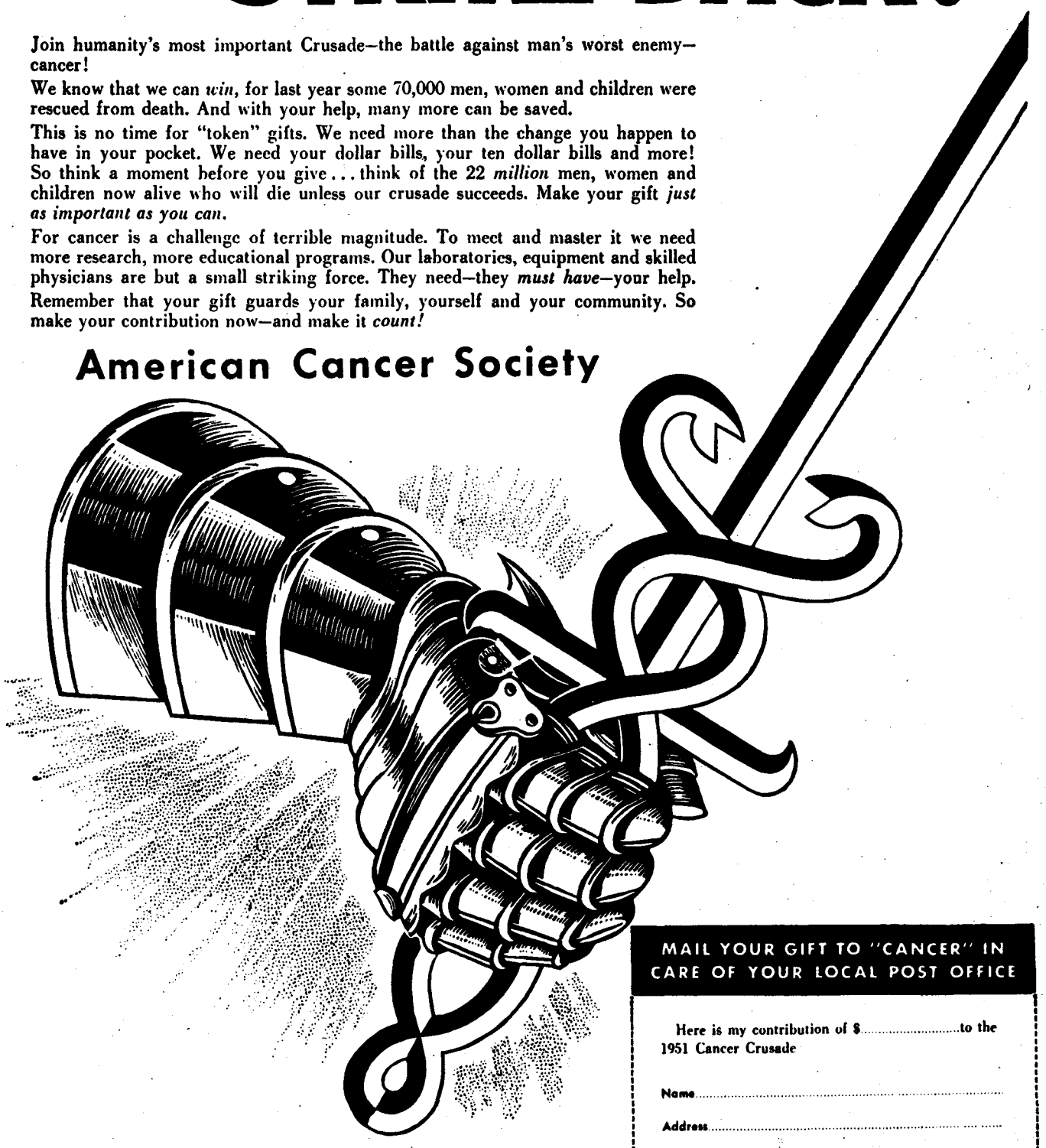

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